

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 MBFR V 00031 01 OF 02 041613Z

43

ACTION ACDA-19

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ISO-00 ACDE-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 INR-10

L-03 NSAE-00 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-03 USIA-15

TRSE-00 SAJ-01 SS-20 NSC-07 OIC-04 IO-14 OMB-01 SAM-01

AEC-11 AECE-00 DRC-01 NEA-14 /163 W

----- 011010

P R 041510Z JUN 74

FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0051

SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

INFO ALL MBFR MISSIONS 0082

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 MBFR VIENNA 0031

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: SUMMARY REPORT FOR PERIOD ENDING

MAY 31, 1974

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: THE MOST SIGNIFICANT DEVELOPMENT OF THE WEEK IN THE VIENNA NEGOTIATIONS OCCURRED DURING THE INFORMAL MEETING ON MAY 28. AT THAT POINT, THE EASTERN SIDE RETURNED TO THE SYMBOLIC REDUCTION PROPOSAL IT SURFACED PRIOR TO THE EASTER BREAK. THE SOVIETS AND THEIR ALLIES ALSO ASKED REPEATEDLY WHY THE WESTERN NO-INCREASE FORMULA DID NOT COVER ARMAMENTS, AND CLAIMED THAT A NO-INCREASE COMMITMENT OF LIMITED DURATION WOULD BE DISADVANTAGEOUS

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 MBFR V 00031 01 OF 02 041613Z

FOR THE EASTERN SIDE. IN A BILATERAL MEETING, SOVIET

REPS EMPHATICALLY DENIED THAT THEY WERE HOLDING BACK IN VIENNA UNTIL THERE IS MOVEMENT IN CSCE. SOVIET REP KHLESTOV ROUNDLY CRITICIZED THE WESTERN PROPOSAL AND WESTERN DATA DURING HIS PLENARY STATEMENT ON MAY 30. THE AD HOC GROUP MET FOUR TIMES. IN ITS MEETING ON MAY 29, THE GROUP AGREED THAT THE EASTERN CRITICISM OF THE LIMITED DURATION OF THE NO-INCREASE FORMULA PROVIDED AN OPPORTUNITY TO INTRODUCE THE REVISION CLAUSE. THE AHG ALSO AGREED THAT THE ALLIES SHOULD BE WARY OF EASTERN ATTEMPTS TO ENTICE THEM INTO ACCEPTING A REFINED VERSION OF THE SYMBOLIC REDUCTION PROPOSAL. END SUMMARY.

2. THE INFORMAL MEETING: THE MAY 28 INFORMAL SESSION WAS AGAIN DEVOTED TO THE QUESTION OF WHOSE FORCES SHOULD BE REDUCED FROM THE OUTSET. SOV REP KHLESTOV REINTRODUCED THE MODIFIED SYMBOLIC REDUCTION PROPOSAL THAT THE EAST HAD RAISED JUST BEFORE THE EASTER BREAK. KHLESTOV CLAIMED THAT THIS PROPOSAL WAS OFFERED IN AN ATTEMPT TO MOVE THE NEGOTIATIONS FORWARD, AND THAT ANY SYMBOLIC REDUCTION WOULD CONTRIBUTE TO GREATER CONFIDENCE AMONG ALL THE MBFR DIRECT PARTICIPANTS. KHLESTOV SAID THAT THE MODIFIED PROPOSAL SHOULD NOT BE CONSIDERED A PART OF THE EASTERN PROGRAM AS OUTLINED IN THE NOVEMBER 8 DRAFT AGREEMENT, AND INDICATED THAT ITS ACCEPTANCE WOULD NOT CREATE OBLIGATIONS TO PROCEED WITH THAT PROGRAM. HE POINTED OUT THAT ORIGINAL SYMBOLIC PROPOSAL HAD SUGGESTED A REDUCTION OF 20,000 ON EACH SIDE, AND SAID ONE COULD CONSIDER DIFFERENT FIGURES AND OTHER PROVISIONS FOR THE MODIFIED SYMBOLIC PROPOSAL. KHLESTOV ARGUED THAT THIS PROPOSAL WOULD BE A COMPROMISE SOLUTION TO THE ISSUE OF WHOSE FORCES SHOULD BE REDUCED FROM THE OUTSET.

3. IN THE SAME SESSION THE EASTERN REPS ALSO CRITICIZED THE WESTERN NO-INCREASE PROPOSAL FOR NOT INCLUDING ARMAMENTS. SOV DEPREP SMIRNOVSKY CITED A STATEMENT BY UK DEFENSE SECRETARY ROY MASON, PUBLISHED IN THE IHT ON MAY 27, THAT THE WESTERN EUROPEAN

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 MBFR V 00031 01 OF 02 041613Z

NATO STATES WILL HAVE INTRODUCED OVER 800 ADDITIONAL MAIN BATTLE TANKS INTO SERVICE BY THE END OF 1974. THE EASTERN REPS ALSO CLAIMED THAT A NO-INCREASE COMMITMENT WITH A LIMITED DURATION WOULD BE INEQUITABLE. THEY ARGUED THAT SOVIET AND US OBLIGATIONS TO MAINTAIN A NEW LEVEL OF FORCES FOLLOWING A PHASE I AGREEMENT WOULD BE OF INDEFINITE DURATION, WHEREAS THE COMMITMENT BY OTHERS NOT TO INCREASE THEIR FORCES WOULD BE LIMITED IN TIME.

THE EASTERN REPS ALSO STRESSED THE DIFFERENCES THEY SEE BETWEEN THE STATUS OF THE UK AND CANADA, WHICH MAINTAIN "FOREIGN" FORCES IN THE FRG, AND THE SITUATION OF THE OTHER DIRECT PARTICIPANTS. THEY CLAIMED THAT, IF THE LATTER GROUP WOULD BE UNDERTAKING A BROADER OBLIGATION THAN US AND USSR BY ACCEPTING A NO-INCREASE COMMITMENT,

SECRET

NNN

SECRET

PAGE 01 MBFR V 00031 02 OF 02 041637Z

43

ACTION ACDA-19

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ISO-00 ACDE-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 INR-10

L-03 NSAE-00 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-03 USIA-15

TRSE-00 SAJ-01 SS-20 NSC-07 OIC-04 IO-14 OMB-01 SAM-01

AEC-11 AECE-00 DRC-01 NEA-14 /163 W

----- 011284

P R 041510Z JUN 74

FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0052

SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

INFO ALL MBFR MISSIONS 0083

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 MBFR VIENNA 0031

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

THEN THE UK AND CANADA SHOULD BE READY TO JOIN IN REDUCTIONS FROM THE OUTSET.

4. BILATERALS: DURING A MEETING WITH THE US REP AND DEPREP ON MAY 27, KHLESTOV AND SMIRNOVSKY EMPLOYED SEVERAL OF THE SAME ARGUMENTS AGAINST THE NO-INCREASE COMMITMENT THEY LATER USED IN THE INFORMAL. THEY ALSO

REJECTED AS WHOLLY INCORRECT REPORTS THAT SOVIET AND WARSAW PACT REPRESENTATIVES HAVE INDICATED THAT THE SOVIETS WISHED TO SLOW THE MBFR NEGOTIATIONS UNTIL THERE IS MOVEMENT IN CSCE OR UNTIL MOSCOW COMPLETES ITS EVALUATION OF RECENT POLITICAL CHANGES IN THE WEST. KHLESTOV ALSO COMMENTED THAT HE HAD CHECKED ON THE SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 MBFR V 00031 02 OF 02 041637Z

ALLIED STATEMENT MADE PRIOR TO EASTER BREAK THAT PERSONNEL OF PACT HELICOPTER UNITS ASSIGNED TO GROUND SUPPORT MISSIONS WERE AIR FORCE RATHER THAN GROUND FORCES. KHLESTOV SAID THAT HELICOPTER PERSONNEL IN THE AREA OF REDUCTIONS WERE IN "ARMY AVIATION," AND SHOULD BE REGARDED AS GROUND FORCES.

5. IN A CONVERSATION WITH NETHERLANDS REP QUARLES ON MAY 24, POLISH REP STRULAK ALSO DENIED THAT THE EAST WAS USING STALLING TACTICS IN VIENNA. HE CLAIMED THAT A CONSIDERABLE NUMBER OF HIGH PACT OFFICIALS HAVE STAKED THEIR FAITH AND REPUTATION ON THE SUCCESS OF CSCE AND MBFR. STRULAK ALSO SUGGESTED THAT THE MBFR NEGOTIATORS DISCUSS THE NO-INCREASE COMMITMENT AND THE SYMBOLIC REDUCTION PROPOSAL CONCURRENTLY. DURING A MEETING ON MAY 24 WITH CANADIAN DEPREP MORGAN, POLISH DEPREP JEDYNAK OFFERED ONE SUBSTANTIVE COMMENT ON THE NO-INCREASE COMMITMENT, STATING THAT THERE IS A BIG DIFFERENCE BETWEEN A NO-INCREASE FORMULA WITH AN OVERALL CEILING AND ONE WHICH PROVIDES FOR NATIONAL CEILINGS. THE ROMANIAN THIRD SECRETARY (DUTA) TOLD MORGAN ON 24 MAY THAT THE NON-INCREASE FORMULA MET AT LEAST ONE SIGNIFICANT STICKING POINT FOR THE WARSAW PACT DIRECT PARTICIPANTS.

6. NETHERLANDS REP QUARLES ON MAY 28 BRIEFED ROMANIAN AMBASSADOR ANINOIU ON THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE FIRST TWO INFORMAL MEETINGS. DURING THE MEETING, ANINOIU CLAIMED THAT THE SOVIETS, SOMETIME BEFORE THE EASTER BREAK, WOULD HAVE BEEN WILLING TO ACCEPT A FIRST PHASE WITH REDUCTIONS BY THE USSR AND US ONLY, PROVIDED ALL THE OTHER DIRECT PARTICIPANTS HAD GIVEN A FIRM AND FORMAL COMMITMENT TO PARTICIPATE IN A SECOND PHASE OF REDUCTIONS. ANINOIU ADDED THAT THIS WILLINGNESS HAD SINCE DISAPPEARED, AND SAID HE WAS UNCERTAIN WHETHER THE SOVIET HARD-LINE POSITION WAS TACTICAL OR WHETHER IT REFLECTED A SUBSTANTIAL CHANGE IN POSITION.

7. THE PLENARY: SOVIET REP KHLESTOV MADE THE ONLY STATEMENT AT THE MEETING HELD ON MAY 30. KHLESTOV ROUNDLY CRITICIZED THE WESTERN PROPOSAL AND STATED SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 MBFR V 00031 02 OF 02 041637Z

FLATLY AT MORE THAN ONE POINT THAT NATO'S APPROACH TO SOLVING PROBLEMS IS UNACCEPTABLE. KHLESTOV ALSO CRITICIZED THE DATA THE WEST HAS PRESENTED, STATING THAT THE WEST USES "RANDOM FIGURES OF VARIOUS SORTS WHICH ARE OFTEN CONTRADICTORY." TO BACK UP THIS ASSERTION, KHLESTOV CITED THAT VERSION OF SECDEF SCHLESINGER'S REPORT TO CONGRESS THAT ERRONEOUSLY LISTED NATO'S GROUND STRENGTH IN CENTRAL EUROPE AS 890,000. (SOVIETS HAD ALREADY BEEN TOLD THAT THERE WERE MISPRINTS IN THAT VERSION.) KHLESTOV ALSO CLAIMED THAT 120,000 CIVILIANS IN WEST GERMANY ARE USED TO PERFORM JOBS DONE BY MILITARY FORCES OF THE USSR, AND SAID THAT THE NATO FIGURE OF THE NUMBER OF TANKS IT MAINTAINS IN CENTRAL EUROPE IS ALSO BIASED IN THAT IT DOES NOT INCLUDE 5,000 (SIC) TANKS STORED IN NATO STATES.

8. AD HOC GROUP ACTIVITIES: IN ITS MEETING ON MAY 29, THE AHG GENERALLY AGREED THAT THE EASTERN CRITICISM OF THE LIMITED DURATION OF THE NO-INCREASE COMMITMENT PRESENTED THE WEST WITH A GOOD OPPORTUNITY TO INTRODUCE THE REVISION CLAUSE, WHICH THE GROUP BELIEVES THE EASTERN SIDE IS STRONGLY SEEKING. SEVERAL AHG MEMBERS, PARTICULARLY FRG REP BEHREND AND UK REP ROSE, QUESTIONED WHETHER THERE WAS ANY REAL CHANGE IN THE EASTERN SYMBOLIC REDUCTION PROPOSAL. THE GROUP IN GENERAL AGREED THAT THE ALLIES SHOULD BE WARY OF EASTERN ATTEMPTS TO FURTHER REFINE THE SYMBOLIC APPROACH IN THE HOPE OF ENTICING THE ALLIES TO ACCEPT IT. ON MAY 31 THE AHG APPROVED TALKING POINTS FOR THE NEXT INFORMAL SESSION. AT THAT MEETING THE ALLIES WILL INTRODUCE THE REVISION FORMULA AND THE FIXED PERIOD OF TIME CONCEPT. THE AHG DURING THE WEEK ALSO APPROVED THE TALKING POINTS USED BY CANADIAN REP GRANDE AT THE NAC, AND APPROVED A PAPER TO BE PRESENTED AT THE NATO MINISTERIALS.

9. COMMENT: THE SOVIET RETURN TO THE MODIFIED SYMBOLIC REDUCTION PROPOSAL MAY HAVE BEEN INTENDED BOTH AS A SIGNAL THAT THEY REMAIN SERIOUS ABOUT THE NEGOTIATIONS AND A REACTION TO THE QUESTIONS CONCERNING THEIR POSSIBLY STONEWALLING IN VIENNA. RESOR

SECRET

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: ARMS, MUTUAL FORCE REDUCTIONS, NEGOTIATIONS, MEETING PROCEEDINGS, MEETING REPORTS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 04 JUN 1974
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: golinofr
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1974MBFRV00031
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D740141-0646
From: MBFR VIENNA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1974/newtext/t19740677/aaaacooj.tel
Line Count: 267
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION ACDA
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: golinofr
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 20 MAR 2002
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <20 MAR 2002 by kelleyw0>; APPROVED <08 MAY 2002 by golinofr>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: SUMMARY REPORT FOR PERIOD ENDING MAY 31, 1974
TAGS: PARM, NATO, MBFR
To: STATE DOD
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005